2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

Chief Mtwalo II in the northern kingdom. Two texts are by former big wives of leading men. NyaNsangu was the former big wife of a grandson of Zwangendaba, a member of the royal clan but not a chief, though he owned many villages. NaNdumbu was the former big wife of the head of the Nsanga clan in the central kingdom. The last text by Cibambo gives details of the clothes worn by royal women and leading women in pre-European days, some of which were still in use in the 1930's.

Life of the Royal Women
by Mangu Maseko

daughter of Mputa, former Paramount of the central kingdom

¶ Formerly I was just staying for I did not work. I had many slaves and their work was especially to thread beads. Up to today I have not worked except to cook. Our hair was anointed with the fat of cows and of milk. Our food was milk and we drank it in a wooden cup. We were getting [illegible] for honouring each other, the big men were telling the youths: 'You should honour the big people that the country may be rich.' Only the big women were dancing *ngoma*, *maindo* and *ligubo*. If a man married the child of a chief, he gave many cattle, and the poor man could not marry the child of a chief.

When NaMlangeni was alive she was a well-known chief and was greatly honoured. When speaking a case, they called her that she might judge. When people went to war and captured slaves and cattle they were giving them to her, and she divided them. For thanking her they said: '*Zaithwa Mai.*'

Life of the Royal Women
by Margaret Jere

granddaughter of Mtwalo I, daughter of Johanne Jere in the northern kingdom

¶ When I was a child I was not allowed to go out quickly in the sun, and when crawling I had to stay in the house. I was very light coloured. The *ndesi* (nurse girl) took me to my mother, UNsulasi Naima, to be suckled at special times. I slept in the house of Magodise Moyo, my grandmother, who was the widow of Chief Mtwalo. The *inidandasi* (attendant) also slept there. My grandmother and others, the *manina* (senior women), were telling me how to behave. A special *inidandasi* living in Magodise's house was told by my grandmother to speak specially to me when I had reached puberty. This *inidandasi* could speak to me about anything. When nearing marriage a woman was chosen, Hlamseya Naima, and sent to reveal to me how I was to live in my married state. The sisters of my father, Tizaira and Seyeya Jere, also came and spoke to me at the time of my marriage. Hlamseya Naima was sent by my grandmother to examine me (for virginity) before marriage. I was allowed to play with those children who lived in the same section of the village and who were known to my mother and grandmother. The *inidandasi* did all the work but sometimes I used to pound and fetch water, but not too hard and just for pleasure.

When strangers came, I came and saluted them and then went out of

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 565 631 644 the house. If my father came to my mother's house, I would go out, but if he sent for me I would return and he would talk to me and play with me. We learned how to behave well, and were rebuked if we behaved badly. My father would beat a child for not behaving well. My father did not allow his children to be spoiled by being treated differently from others. He said: "They are all my children."

Life of the Royal Women
by Mdingase Nsangu

widow of Chinombo Jere, grandson of Zwangendaba in the northern kingdom

565 631 644 [302] ¶ The *amakosikazi* were not working. During the day they kept dressing their hair, both the young women and the old. The old women no longer kept their *isihlutu*, or high chignon, but wore the *umzoco*, or long curls. For the *umzoco* the hair was cut short and not allowed to grow very long. Instead of dressing it upwards they took a blade of grass and kept it pressed down after oil and scent were applied. Their other work was to go to the river and wash.

They also drank beer and some gruel, and afterwards danced *ngoma* in the house where beer was brewed. The men and chief also joined in the *ngoma* and the women were responding to the singing. They began to drink in the morning until the afternoon, but not in the evening. Other people went on drinking until evening, and even some of the *amakosikazi* who were *isidli* (gluttonous) but the rest were sleeping or resting.

When drinking in the house the chief always sat by the right-hand door-post, and the big *inkosikazi* by the left-hand post. They sat near the door to draw breath easily because there were many people inside. The beer-pot being set halfway between the door and the hearth-stones in the centre, a man was chosen to pour the beer in the gourds for drinking. He was *umtelo wocwaala*, the beer pourer, and was often the village *induna* or one who was favoured by the chief. When the gourds were full he told the chief, and the chief told him to distribute them. Sometimes there were four or even six for the different classes in the house. They sat in order, the *inkosi* with the *izinduna* and *amadoda*, and the *inkosikazi* with the other wives of the chief and the wives of the *izinduna* and *amadoda*. The chief and the *inkosikazi* kept on inviting the common people to come and drink. [576] Such invited people thanked the person at the beginning and at the end, others joining him. The *inkosikazi* or other wives of the chief were thanked '*Nkomo*'.

The *amakosikazi* never worked at all, but the lesser wives worked, and pounded grain and fetched firewood. These were the ones who had not yet got attendants in their houses. All the chief *amakosikazi* had attendants who performed all the work of the house. The *amakosikazi* often sat in the verandah or outside under the platform of branches supported by posts. [612] There they ate their food which was *ilambazi* and *umnjinji*, thick gruel of millet; *isinkwa se nyuti*, bulrush millet ground to a paste; or *isinkobe*, whole grains of maize boiled and pounded. The meat was eaten as a feast on the *agcakeni*, the smeared place in front of the house, and all the chief's wives joined in. A mat was spread for the big *amakosikazi* where they sat

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

tion. In all the selection of individuals to 'enter the place' of an important person who had died, the new holder of the place had to measure up to Ngoni personality standards and be acknowledged as a 'good character'.

The new kinds of occupation open to Ngoni men as a result of education in the mission schools were of two main types: those where the holders of the job still lived in the Ngoni kingdom and carried on their work in the setting of a Ngoni village; and those which involved leaving the village and living and working outside Ngoniland, more or less out *of sight and out of control of Ngoni elders.*

Some of the mission teachers, ministers, and evangelists returned to live in Ngoni villages after they had completed their training, though others of course were posted elsewhere. In one of the villages described in Chapter I there had been in the early days of mission work fierce and continuous opposition to the opening of schools, as well as to the preaching of Christianity. I mentioned the old evangelist who had been threatened with death by the chief when he first took up his work. If he had left under those threats he would have lost out for ever among his people, for he would have been called a coward. He stayed, cultivated his land, grew his own food, was a great hunter, was respectful to the chief and elders, brought up his children to respect Ngoni traditions. He gradually gained the reputation of being brave, a 'gentle' man, a powerful and fluent speaker in the church on Sundays, a man of wisdom and judgement, and he was constantly asked for his opinion on village affairs. Most of the village, Christian and non-Christian alike, went to the church service on Sundays, sang the Ngoni hymns, listened to his sermons in the Ngoni language, sprinkled with Ngoni proverbs and illustrated by episodes from Ngoni life and history. Very few people in that village over twenty-five years old were Christians, but the leading Ngoni families allowed him to baptize younger and older children and to instruct them in Sunday-school. The Ngoni elders contributed to the

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 797 church funds in cash or in kind, and helped to build the church and school.

The younger headmaster of the school had never been 159 threatened with death. He came in on the tide of recognition 875 and respect accorded to the character and behaviour of the evangelist. His grandfather, like the evangelist's father, had been a well-known warrior with his own praise song celebrating his exploits. When the chief saw the exemplary [622] behaviour of the headmaster and his Ngoni wife, listened to some of the lessons in school, watched the boys 'drill' in the [871] playground, he ordered all Ngoni boys and girls in the village to attend school, and arranged a roster for cattle-herding, so that the boys would learn herding as well as their school lessons. He sent for the headmaster to report to him periodically on how the children were behaving, and which ones were showing particular aptitudes. The young headmaster showed characteristic Ngoni ability to organize his school, control his staff, demand and get good behaviour from the children. He was, like the evangelist, a huntsman of repute, and he was too a good dancer, and had a judgement in public affairs that was acknowledged to be beyond his years.

The aversion shown in the other Ngoni village described 177 in Chapter I to schools and to missions generally arose 797 partly from the fact that there were no Ngoni teachers or 871 ministers serving that area. The teachers in near-by schools were from a tribe whom the Ngoni despised and whose per- 186 sonal habits they deplored. The missions in the area had made no attempt to integrate schoolteaching and preaching in the churches with Ngoni life and thought. Some Ngoni fathers sent their boys to the Scottish Mission boarding-school in Blantyre, and were willing to pay the fees because they knew and believed in those in charge of that school.

871 Ngoni fathers, and this was true of both areas, expected 463 their boys who had been to school and had entered European 554 employment away from their homes, to find work which assured them a superior and not an inferior or unskilled

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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586 is normally irrevocable and couples do not often go back to each other. If a wife does go back soon after a divorce people laugh at her for having caused trouble over nothing. A husband may sometimes assert that his wife has been divorced without his approval, perhaps while he was away working, but such complaints go unanswered for it is in the interests of the court to uphold its own decisions. Even if a man is living in the rural area his wife may get a divorce if he refuses to go to court to defend his case. In addition he runs the risk of a fine for contempt of court. The somewhat lengthy process by which a woman can get her divorce despite the obstruction of her husband is illustrated by the following account of a court case.

159 593 586 *Case history 2*

In April 1946 Zachariah, a man holding the royal descent-name and married to Ruth and Naomi, began to make advances to a recently divorced

Table X. Marital experience of females, by age, 1948-9

Present age in years	Marital experience: All females — Number of marriages entered into since birth								Wedded females only — Number of divorces experienced since birth					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	Not known	Total	0	1	2	3	Not known	Total
0-4	58	–	–	–	–	–	–	58	–	–	–	–	–	0
5-9	65	–	–	–	–	–	–	65	–	–	–	–	–	0
10-14	54	–	–	–	–	–	–	54	–	–	–	–	–	0
15-19	20	23	1	–	–	–	1	45	23	1	–	–	1	25
20-24	–	20	3	–	–	–	1	24	19	2	2	–	1	24
25-29	–	24	4	–	–	–	1	29	23	4	1	–	1	29
30-34	1	15	4	1	–	–	2	23	16	4	–	–	2	22
35-39	–	12	7	2	–	–	2	23	16	4	1	–	2	23
40-44	–	10	5	2	1	–	–	18	10	6	2	–	–	18
45-49	–	5	11	–	1	–	–	17	11	5	–	1	–	17
50-54	–	6	7	–	1	–	–	14	7	5	1	1	–	14
55-59	–	7	5	1	–	–	–	13	10	2	–	1	–	13
60-64	–	9	4	1	–	–	1	15	12	1	1	–	1	15
65-69	–	5	5	–	–	1	–	11	8	2	–	–	1	11
70-74	–	3	3	–	–	–	–	6	6	–	–	–	–	6
75-79	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	1
80-84	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	1
Not known	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	–	–	–	–	4	4
Total	198	140	60	7	3	1	12	421	162	37	8	3	13	223

162 581 586

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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woman who lived near the place where he was working, with the idea of taking her as his third wife. Ruth, the great wife, was living with Zachariah at the time, and tried to prevent him from marrying this woman. Zachariah desisted but then became so angry with Ruth that he gave her sixpence and said she was divorced. She went back to her village, saying she would get a divorce in the court. She stayed at her father's village for some time and then went back to her husband.

In October there was another quarrel between Ruth and Zachariah. According to Zachariah he told his wife to bring some tobacco from inside the hut and she refused, whereupon there was a fight. Ruth took the matter to court, complaining that in the fight Zachariah had hurt her so

Table XI. Divorce ratios

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Ratio	Value
A	28·5% (115/403)
B	55·8% (115/206)
C	36·9% (115/312)

Legend

A The number of marriages ended in divorce expressed as a percentage of all marriages

B The number of marriages ended in divorce expressed as a percentage of all completed marriages

C The number of marriages ended in divorce expressed as a percentage of all marriages except those ended by death

124

Informants

	Used	Potential	% Used
Men	117	136	86·0
Women	222	251	88·4
Total	339	387	87·6

Number of marriages in which both partners were informants 111

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badly that she had had to go to hospital. She produced a letter from the White doctor by way of evidence. Ruth's father testified that Ruth was the first wife Zachariah had married, yet despite this he fought her and did not fight with his second wife Naomi. Ruth asked the court to divorce her as she feared she would be killed by Zachariah. A court councillor said that although she and her husband had been to the court before with their troubles, it was not the work of the court to force men and women to divorce one another but to instruct them how to live together in peace. Zachariah was ordered to pay two pounds damages to Ruth and ten shillings fine to the court. Zachariah agreed to pay the fine but refused to pay the damages. The chief, who was in court at the time, asked him if he said this because of his royal descent-name. If Zachariah persisted in his attitude the chief would write to his employer and tell him to deduct the money from his wages. Zachariah then said he would send a boy back to collect the two pounds from his village.

Ruth went to her own village. About this time Zachariah was transferred to another area, distant from Ruth's village. In November Ruth's father began to complain that the two pounds had not yet been paid and said that Zachariah was trying to trap his wife by not visiting her, hoping she would commit adultery.

In February 1948 Ruth took out a summons against Zachariah for failing to come and visit her despite the ruling of the court in October that they were not to be divorced. The summons was sent to Zachariah in another county and Zachariah wrote back to a court councillor to say that he would not come to court as he had heard that Ruth was committing adultery with a certain man. On receiving the letter the chief said nothing could be done about it until Zachariah decided to bring an action for adultery against Ruth.

By this time Zachariah had acquired another wife and when in March he was given leave he took the new wife to his own village where his second wife Naomi had been living all the time.

In December 1948 Ruth brought an action against Zachariah for divorce on the ground of his desertion. Three times the case was down for hearing but Zachariah never appeared. The court then divorced Ruth with no damages to pay.

Hearing this Zachariah went to the District Officer and asked why his wife had been divorced without his knowledge. The District Officer referred him to the chief. Zachariah wrote a rather facetious letter to the chief challenging his right to divorce Ruth. The court clerk read the letter and said that Zachariah ought to be fined for insulting the chief. He observed that Ruth's mother had died in September and that Zachariah must be a cruel man as he had not gone to offer his condolences.

586 It is easier for a woman to prove desertion in a case like this where the man is living in the rural area, than when he is away in the town working and writes sporadically if at all. The court feels that it is under an obligation to the migrant labourers of the tribe not to divorce their wives too easily. But if a husband is in the area and could perfectly easily go and see his wife, it is much easier to demonstrate that the desertion is deliberate and sustained, and not merely forced on a man by the exigencies of earning a living.

586 178 We have seen that the two main grounds for divorce are adultery and desertion. Some Whites express this by saying that these are the main causes of divorce among the Ngoni and other tribes. The Ngoni do not see the matter in this light. The cause of divorce to them is the presence of the White group. Old men deplore the

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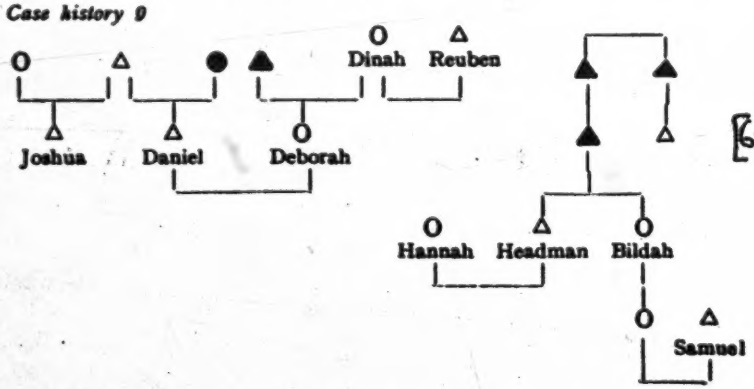
Mpezeni

precipitate an open quarrel by staying away from his wife, by eating elsewhere or by threatening divorce. Fights in the village, provided the parties concerned do not hurry off to court, are dealt with first at a village meeting, and even where the combatants are not man and wife, the elucidation of the cause of the fight may bring to light a latent marital quarrel which must then be dealt with by the relatives. Accusations of adultery must be denied, and a woman may call in her relatives to protect her from the slander of a jealous woman.

The processes by which a quarrel between man and wife comes to light, and the attempts of kinsfolk to resolve the quarrel, are well illustrated by the following account of an adulterous wife.

Case history 9



Daniel was a labour migrant in Southern Rhodesia and his wife Deborah was living meanwhile in the village of her mother's husband Reuben. The headman of this village had himself returned from the railway line a year previously. At a beer party Deborah quarrelled with Hannah the headman's wife, who accused Deborah of sleeping with the headman and who started to fight her. A meeting was held in the village to settle the affair. Deborah denied that she had ever slept with the headman and the headman denied that he had ever slept with her. Hannah retorted that she did not like to see her husband running after other women and always talking to Deborah. Reuben and a neighbour of his said that they could say nothing in the matter as Deborah was a married woman, and they called on Joshua, who was Daniel's father's son, to speak. He had come from his own village to attend the meeting. Joshua said that Hannah had not actually caught Deborah sleeping with her husband the headman, and that therefore Hannah had done wrong in accusing Deborah without good reason. Hannah had also erred in making accusations that would make Deborah's brothers-in-law think that Deborah was committing adultery. The headman had also erred and should stop talking to Deborah, or else the brothers-in-law of Deborah would take him to court for drinking beer at night with Deborah, who was a married woman.

Hannah then admitted that she had done wrong in fighting Deborah. Another man in the village, Samuel, the headman's sister's daughter's husband, spoke, and said that Hannah must offer a chicken to Deborah because if Hannah had really known that Deborah was sleeping with the headman, surely she would have seen that Deborah was taken to court.

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Hannah sent her son to catch a chicken, which was put at the feet of Samuel and a lieutenant of the village, who called on Deborah to accept it. Deborah was stopped from doing so by Reuben, who said that the village was now a bad village since the headman had returned to it, and that he did not want his daughter to accept the chicken. The chicken was released, and the meeting broke up. Reuben subsequently explained his action by saying that if he had let Deborah take the chicken, there would be hatred between Deborah and Hannah, and more quarrels would ensue. People would quarrel in the village just to get chickens.

Two months later Daniel returned from Southern Rhodesia, and Deborah went back to Daniel's village to live with him there. Soon he quarrelled with her, and accused her of committing adultery while he was away. A meeting was held at the house of Daniel's father to deal with the quarrel. Daniel said that he had brought back with him medicine which he had put under Deborah's pillow while she was asleep. Under the influence of the medicine Deborah talked in her sleep and disclosed the names of the men with whom she had slept while Daniel had been away. Daniel said that he did not like to take these men to court on the evidence of this medicine alone. Reuben, who had been called from his village to attend the meeting, said that the matter was not one in which he could act and it was up to Daniel to decide what he wanted to do, as Deborah was his wife. Daniel's father said that as Deborah had children by Daniel she ought to be forgiven and warned not to do it again. The headman of Daniel's village observed that women had been committing adultery long before there was any labour migration, and that as this was Deborah's first offence she should just be warned. Daniel said that Deborah should be warned not in his village but in her own village, and that she should be warned not by himself or his father but by her father Reuben. Daniel wrote down the names of the people he had heard mentioned by Deborah, but he did not show this list at the meeting. An informant who claimed that he saw the list said that it contained, among others, the name of the headman of Reuben's village.

A month later a meeting was held in Reuben's village to continue the discussion. Some of the important people in the village attended, but not the headman or his lieutenant. This ommission was explained by Reuben as being because all the people concerned were Christians and they must decide it among themselves without reference to the headman, a pagan. Daniel's father opened the discussions by saying that Daniel wanted to know about the adulteries of Deborah while he was away in Southern Rhodesia. Daniel then said that he wanted to take to court the people who had slept with his wife. He had found medicines in the house on his return, and these he produced as evidence. He said he had asked his wife what sort of medicines these were, and at first she had refused to tell him. He had pressed her and she had then said that some were medicines she had got from people in another country for headache, and that others were roots of love medicine she had got from other women in the village. Daniel said he did not believe his wife when she told him this, as a woman would not make love medicine if her husband were away. He had found other medicines hidden in the roof of the storehouse which Deborah had refused to explain to him.

Deborah spoke and said that she admitted sleeping with two men, Gideon and Balaam. (They were both men from other villages.) Another man from the village, the headman's father's father's brother's son, who had been invited to the meeting (but who was not a Christian) said that these people Gideon and Balaam ought to be taken to court as Daniel had suggested, for a case like this could not be settled in the village.

Daniel then went on to say that he thought his wife was pregnant and he wanted to know who had impregnated her. Deborah said that she was sure it was Gideon and Balaam who had made her pregnant. Daniel's father remarked that they had best wait before bringing a case against

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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Gideon as Gideon's village was on the point of moving from one county to another and they wanted to begin the case in the right court.

Dinah, Deborah's mother, addressed her daughter:

'My daughter, ever since I married my husband, I have never committed adultery with anyone who was not my husband, and I have never asked anyone to give me medicines so that Reuben would love me. My husband loves me because I obey him, and he looks after me well. In addition he looks after you, who are not his real daughter. Believe my words, when Reuben dies, you will not find me married to such a good husband who can look after me and all my children. I used to tell you not to drink beer all night long because your husband was away working. You did not obey me, and see now you have done wrong to both parents, your own parents and the parents of your husband. We will regard you as a bad child who has not been well instructed; and the parents of your husband will regard us as bad people for not instructing you well. Now it is up to you because you are a fully grown person.'

Daniel's father said that the men who had made Deborah pregnant would be punished by the court, and that now Daniel and Deborah must be told to live in peace. Daniel said that he had nothing more to say as the people who had been sleeping with his wife had been identified. He would take them to court and would live peacefully with his wife. The meeting then ended.

Two months later Daniel took Balaam to court, and Deborah and Balaam were each ordered to pay Daniel thirty shillings damages.

We see in this account the constant interest of the kinsfolk in maintaining the marriage. Divorce was never mentioned. Instead, Deborah was told to change her ways. Her father-in-law argued that she should be forgiven as she had already borne children to Daniel. Her mother's husband, although he was more diffident about the matter than if she had been his own daughter, tried to prevent her quarrel with Hannah from worsening when he prevented her taking the chicken offered her. Although Reuben was only her step-father Daniel considered him, rather than his own father, the proper person to deliver a reproof to Deborah.

Occasionally the aftermath of a marital quarrel is neither reconciliation nor divorce but a state of affairs we may call separation. If a wife runs away, or if her husband goes off to work and avoids her on his return, there may be attempts at reconciliation which may fail or there may even be no attempts. Not every woman in this position seeks divorce. Some still hope that their husbands will return, particularly if there are growing children to be cared for, while others may be bound by the rules of their religion against divorce. If a woman is old and does not wish to take another husband, she may be disinclined to take the trouble to obtain a divorce. It will be seen from Table IV that there are only a few women in this condition. They live with their own relatives and sometimes maintain indirect contact with their husbands through their children who visit back and forth. This category of separation is applicable only where the husband is living near his wife. If a man is in Southern Rhodesia and does not write, we cannot say whether or not he is, in this sense, separated from his wife. His

II:Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NGONI, GENEALOGY OF THEIR CHIEFS, AND NOTES.

By D. Gordon Lancaster.

NOTE OF INTRODUCTION.

These tentative notes relating to the Ngoni are the result of many years of research amongst the natives in the Eastern Province of N. Rhodesia, with whom I have been in constant contact, firstly as a Government official and secondly as a friend. I have received the greatest assistance and courtesy from the Paramount Chief, Mpezeni Jere II, and I am further indebted to A. K. Jere, a son of old Chief Kapatamoyo Jere, without whose knowledge, assistance and tactful handling of the old indunas these notes and genealogy would never have been completed.

NOTES.

(1) Zongendaba (Zwangendaba, Uzwangendaba) Kumalo, son of Hlatshwayo of the Ngoni tribe and his wife, Mquamache Nzima, was born near St. Lucia Bay in 1780 circa.

Zongendaba, when a young man, appears to have shown great promise as a military leader. Hlatshwayo, his father, and Ziwide, uncle of his wife, Loziwawa Nqumayo, appear to have been close neighbours and friends, and with other local clans for some time resisted Tshaka. The date of Hlatshwayo's death is not known, but Zongendaba broke away from the district or tribal area with a large following, after the second attack by Tshaka on the Ndwandwe Tribe, whom the Ngoni were assisting. Mzilikazi, a younger member of the Kumalo, after this defeat served Tshaka as an Induna for approximately two years, during which time his bravery and leadership, under the eye of Tshaka, brought him promotion. Zongendaba and Gwaza Tole broke away with a following in the year 1823; Mzilikazi followed towards the end of the year 1828.

In the same year, 1825, Soschangane, known as Manukusa, son of Sigode and a cousin of Zongendaba's wives, Loziwawa and Sosera, broke away with a following of Ama-Ndwandwe and entered into Tongaland, Portuguese East Africa, through Swaziland. It is stated by native authorities that Zongendaba had with him girls and young women but no matrons, that they were few in number, that the Ama-Swazi were raided for cattle and suitable young girls, and that these were taken along with them on their northern migration through Tongaland and Lourenco Marques.

It is definitely stated that the following wives accompanied Zongendaba from their tribal area: Loziwawa and Sosera. These women were daughters of Nombhengula, brother of Ziwide and son of Langa Vimba. Nombhengula was a brother of Ziwide and not as is sometimes stated a son.

A' [induna = military leader -- Analyst]

Ill: Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 In 1828 Zongendaba, who had met with Mzilikazi near the border of Portuguese
167 East Africa, fought him over a petty disagreement, which it is alleged was a dog fight.
173 Mzilikazi beat Zongendaba, who moved on into Portuguese East Africa between the
518 Limpopo and the Sabi Rivers and united himself with Manukusa; this was the year of
643 Tshaka's assassination. In 1831 we find Manukusa and Zongendaba midway between
648 the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

In the year 1833, in which Manukusa attacked the Portuguese and drove them out of Espirito Santo (Lourenco Marques), Manukusa and Zongendaba disagreed and a fight took place, after which Zongendaba and his following, accompanied by Mhlabawadabuka, a brother of Manukusa, continued the migration north.

In the following year, 1834, on the border of what is now S. Rhodesia, Zongendaba broke with Mhlabawadabuka and proceeded in a north-westerly direction, where at the Ingwe-Kwizi River he met the Ba-Lozi or Ba-Nyai, whom he destroyed; their chief, Mambo, was killed, some thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba-Zi-Ka-Mambo.
[805] In November of the year 1835, at the time of an eclipse, a passage was found across the Ukwembe River (Zambesi) at Manyerere on the south bank, nearly opposite Zumbo on the north bank in Portuguese East Africa. At the crossing a dispute arose between Zongendaba and an induna, Ngabi Maseko, who with a small following remained on the south bank and, it is stated, crossed over the following year near Tete.

Zongendaba, after crossing, halted for a period whilst his impis looted the surrounding country; his camp was built at Mkoko. About 1839 a movement in an easterly direction was made, it is said, by Gwaze Tole, who was a brother-in-law to Zongendaba and his
[645] Chief Councillor, because, acting on Zongendaba's instructions, he had put to death one
[684] of Zongendaba's wives for infidelity; Zongendaba followed. The direction was changed, after passing to the west of the present Fort Jameson, to a more northerly one passing the head-waters of the Bua River en route.

In 1840 at Chulu, Mbelwa or Mombera was born, son of Zongendaba by his wife Umnene. Thence on to the Rukuru Valley.

In 1842 Zongendaba arrived in the Fipa country, and the next two years were spent in raiding the surrounding country of the Sukuma and Masfwa.

In 1845 Zongendaba died. It is stated that he had never seen or been seen by a
159 European, that he was fierce with his soldiers and his wives who, on the least excuse, he put
173 to death, that he was very kind and considerate to his captives, and that he listened to
643 two men only, Gwaza Tole and Njekwane. He died at Mapupu in the Fipa country
[766] and was buried in a black ox skin near the Nyinaluzi River. On his death bed he gave
[428] his assegai to his eldest son and heir (by his Great Wife, Sosera), Ntutu Mpezeni, who was then in his twentieth year.

(2) Loziwawa Nqumayo was the wife of Zongendaba—"The Great Wife, Inkosikazi". She was born before the accession of Tshaka, about the year 1800, in the tribal area near
159 St. Lucia Bay. She was Zongendaba's "great chosen wife" and died during the great
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migration about 1833; her burial place is unknown. She died without issue. She was the eldest daughter of Nombhengula, who was a brother of Ziwide and Sigode, and a son of Langa Vimba Nqumayo. She was a cousin to Manukuza, son of Sigode, and to Nompetu, daughter of Ziwide, who married Matshobana, the father of Mzilikazi. Sometimes it happens that a great wife or other major wife is not blessed with children. In those cases another woman is placed in her "house" with the object of raising seed to it. The children resulting are looked upon as children of the establishment in which their mother was "placed" and are in the same position as if born to the major wife; the eldest son of a chief's "Great Wife" inherits the chieftainship of the tribe on the death of his father. This was, and is, the custom of the Ngoni; it is also known to the Achewa and Ansenga Tribes. This custom is known to the Ngoni as *Nshlanze*.

Zongendaba therefore took as *Nshlanze* Sosera Nqumayo, a younger sister of Loziwawa, and by her he had issue as follows:—Ntutu Mpezeni, the eldest son, "the Inkosana of the Indhlunkulu," Jadose, Mtwalalichi, and Ndhlobvu Makekevu. Sosera was born about 1808 near St. Lucia Bay. She migrated with the chief and followed him through all his wanderings until his death, after which she accompanied her son and heir, Ntutu Mpezeni, into what is now the Fort Jameson district. There she settled in her village called "Dingeni," where she died in 1900 and was buried near the site of the old village of Mtenguleni Uka Sosera close to the Kakolo stream; her grave is now marked by an euphorbia tree. The site is on the farm owned by Major Jefferies, O.B.E., which prior to the invasion of the Ngoni used to be the land of the Achewa chief, Kampara.

Sosera is well remembered by many natives who are living to-day, and although she died at a great age it is said that she was in possession of her full faculties until the last. She is described as being a real chieftainess and it is said that in later years if annoyed by the younger generation she would lay about her with her *mchizo* (staff) in a lusty manner. Many amusing tales are told of her astuteness and dry humour.

After Zongendaba's death, Sosera chose for a very beautiful woman, named Nthonane, who was a young sister-wife to the house and who had borne no children, one, Sawaza Mazunko, as a seed raiser, for which he received twenty head of cattle. A daughter was born and named Ndawiri Jere; she now resides in the Fort Manning District of Nyasaland and from her this information was obtained. Ndawiri looked upon Ntutu Mpezeni as her brother, and Ndawiri was, and is, looked upon as one of Zongendaba's children. She married Ndawombi, since dead, and has one son, Ndawombi Hara.

It is agreed by the old indunas that Ntutu Mpezeni would have been about nine years of age when he crossed over the Zambesi, that he was carried across as befitted a Paramount Chief's heir, that, prior to the crossing, Zongendaba had given him a little shield and an assegai, and that he had killed his first duiker buck before the crossing. This is also borne out by the sons of Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma and Ngandu Mbawa, both of whose fathers were set the task of being servants to the chief's heir in his youth.

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159 173 [567] Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma of the Ansenga tribe worked for Sosera when he was a youth. Zimakazi was caught and made a slave in 1835, the year of the crossing. Ngungu Ngoma, his son, has often heard this from his father and the chieftainess, Sosera. Zimakazi died a few years before his mistress. His son, Ngungu Ngoma, is in the N. Rhodesia Government Service and is about fifty years of age.

[562] [593] (3) Chibenya Mkhalapi. This was the first wife of importance of Zongendaba, the *ikohlwa* wife. When Zongendaba's mother, Mquamache Nzima, died, Chibenya was taken out of the chief's house and put in his mother's place and called "the Great Mother." This is a well-known custom amongst the Ngoni. The date of her death and place of burial are not known by the present day chiefs. It is stated by some of the indunas that she accompanied Zongendaba north and crossed the Zambesi in 1835, by others that she was the mother of Mtwalu, but this appears doubtful.

[645] [701] (4) Gwaza Tole. Brother-in-law of Zongendaba; Chief Councillor and one of the great indunas. Tribe, Ngoni; regiment, Machaya Imiti. Father, Nzyekezera (Njekerezera), mother and wife, not known; sons, Masakambewa and Chitete.

[554] Zongendaba had married one of Gwaza's sisters. He appears to have been an elderly and very wise councillor, in whom the chief placed great trust and whose advice the indunas and captains readily accepted. Gwaza killed one of Zongendaba's wives on his [578] instructions, possibly his own sister. This led to ill feeling, and it is stated that Gwaza and certain others of his following kept apart from the chief after this affair. He died at Fipa and was buried there in 1846.

159 173 (5) Zulu Gama. Father, Njeru; mother, not known; wife, Nzyalisa.

Zongendaba married a sister of Zulu Gama (possibly Mambose Gama) before the Zambesi crossing. They had no issue.

167 On the upward trek after crossing the Zambesi River to the Fipa country, Zulu Gama left his wife, Nzyalisa, at a village near Kasitu; she had a son by him named Paulos Gama, to whom Zulu Gama left villages at Luanjazi near Mzimba.

After Zongendaba's death, Zulu Gama and a following broke away, and were followed [578] by the adherents of Mombera. A fight took place near what is now Old Langenburg, and Mombera's people were scattered by this wily old induna. He crossed the Shire River in 1868. He entered Songea and died there later. Chief Ngabi Maseko was killed by [554] Zulu Gama. Zulu Gama appears to have been a general of high qualities and a sound councillor.

159 173 [701] [645] (6) Njekwane Ntilila. Father, Mphange, a brother of Hlatshwayo; mother, Manyuwazana; wife, Mtonga Jojo; sons: Kapatamoyo I., Sondwani, Hoye Chafumela, Chulu, Mene, Mazwe. A cousin of Chief Zongendaba. Chief Induna of the Zimpofu regiment and Chief Induna of the Council. Died at Mpinduka Hill, Matambazi River, in the year 1868.

(7) Mgai Kumalo. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Bichi Nkhosi. Regiment, Majekwane. Died in the Ufipa Country 1849.

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(8) Mguzhulu Mphanza; one of the indunas of the Ziolomba Regiment. Crossed over the Zambesi in 1835. No further particulars known. 159 173

(9) Ntabeni Kumalo; half brother of Zongendaba. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Uthuvi. Regiment, Ziolomba. Died and was buried in Ufipa Country in 1846. [701]

(10) Mafu Kumalo; elder brother of Hlatshwayo. Father, Mangangati. Killed in action prior to arrival at the Zambesi.

(11) Hlatshwayo Kumalo, the son of Mangangati of the Kumalo clan; married Mquamache Nzima. He had three brothers, Mafu, Gumete and Mphange. He was the father of Zongendaba, Ntabeni, Somfula, Mgai and Lomapela. [614]

I have been unable to ascertain if he took part in the Great Migration. My information leads me to the conclusion that he was dead before Tshaka vanquished the Ama-Ndwandwe.

(12) Mtwalu Jere: born before the Crossing of the Zambesi, about 1833? Father, Zongendaba; mother, Nqutu Nzima; wife, Magodise; sons, Amon Jere, and Yohane Jere. Regiment, Manyoka Masoko. Refused the chieftainship because he stated that his father's, Chief Zongendaba's, last wishes had not been carried out. There is no truth in the statement that he was unfitted to hold the chieftainship through physical defects. Died in Nyasaland (Angoni Land), 1890. [643]

(13) Mombera Jere (Mbelwa); born at Chulu on the way to Fipa, 1840. Mother, Umnene Nzima, a Swazi; father, Zongendaba; half-sister, Mphangela; blood sister, Lomagazi, who it is stated by some was born before the Zambesi was crossed; son, Chimtunga, whose mother was cast off because of adultery. Chimtunga's appointment was not recognised by his grandfather's indunas. Died in 1891, Angoni Land, Nyasaland. [684] [643]

(14) Mperembe Jere. Not born north side of the Zambesi River; it is stated his mother did not cross the Zambesi in 1835. 159 173

Mperembe went into the Awemba Country after the break up of the tribe, but appears to have crossed back eastwards over the Loangwa River and joined Mombera and Mtwalu about 1868/9, after being badly beaten by the Chitimukulu. 643

It is known in the Mpezeni country that he captured Chanda mukulu, sister of Chitimukulu, whom he brought back with him and married at Mtelela village near the Mulowi River, that he had one son by her named Chinombo, and that after the Ngoni rebellion Chanda mukulu was returned to her own country; she resided on the Mackera River for some years. She had slits in her ears so large that one could put one's hand through them. [583] [304]

My informant, Sayeye Phiri, who was born at Kasitu, was caught by Mombera's people at Kanyenda, Kotakota, and made a slave; she knew Mombera and Chanda mukulu well. She is well over seventy and resides in the Fort Jameson Location. [115] [567]

Mperembe Jere appears to have been a disgruntled and bloodthirsty despot and to have had no interests other than bloodthirsty raids and the joys of his harem. He [152]

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He

159 was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was
173 acting chief for some years until Chimtunga was appointed.

643 (15) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambesi in November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tole, Chief
173 Councillor. Chief Njekwane, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military
167 Adviser; Mguzhulu, Induna Ziolomba Regiment; Somfula, Induna Somfula Regiment;
551 Mgai, Induna Majekwane Regiment; Ntabeni, Induna Ziolomba Regiment. Chief
[643] Gwaza Tole was also Captain of the Machaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Njekwane was
[645] Captain of the Zimpofu Regiment. Regiments:—Majekwane, Ziolomba (black oxhide,
[701] white spot), Somfula, Machaya Imiti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpofu. Wives of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chibenya Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Soera Nqumayo,
[595] Great Wife; Umnene Nzima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Nzima, mother of Mtwalu;
[543] Mavocho Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku?; Chigomane, Nguluwe, Ndauya Mbanzima, Mambose Gama, Vuyakhazi, Mwachuma, slave wife and rain-maker? Daughters:—Lomagazi and Mphangela. Sister:—Qochiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—
173 Nthomane, Bazyamanzya, Zin-Khabi, Nquaneleni, Nkhaleni, Nshanya, Mabeti.
167 Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabeni, Mgai, Somfula,
551 Mabuzyubuzyu, Ngoya, Unekwane, Uhallo, Ukhungwayo, Undina, Mtiyane, Lomapela.
543 Chief Diviner or *Inunsi*:—Manyonkolo.

(16) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalu, Ndelendele, Mombera, Maulau, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makekevu Njobvu, Mperembe, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jadose, Sikane, Chigamane, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyendeka Muzyopa, Athungwa tribe;
[595] Lupoko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Madzimawe Jere; Mtizwa Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mawase Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere; Maiwape Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Swazi tribe; Ntombiyimbi, First Wife.
[727] Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of 1898. Grandson:—Chilisa Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontilino.

159 (18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village near
173 Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.
766 Lupoko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village, in 1901.

[727] Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipinga old camp near Msesa Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vuhwi Valley; buried on the top of Nsaswe Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

173 Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayunge (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Machihungu,
704 Mavimba, Mahiza, Zinyoka, Masoho, Manyisa, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Manyera, Mabema, Kambayenda, Mafelakudeni, Chimalilembalemba.

(19) The *isi-bongo*[1] "Jere," appears to have definitely not been used prior to the year 1835, and from information received it is extremely unlikely that it was in general use until after the death of Zongendaba. The chief *isi-bongo* up to that time appear to have been Kumalo, Nqumayo, Tole (said to be the eye of an ox), Nzima, Gama, Mkhalapi, Ndhlovu and Nkosi.

The *isitakazelo*[2] now little used were Ndaba and Ntungwa.

The language spoken by the Ngoni was closely allied to isi-swazi.

The Paramount Chief, Mpezeni II, still receives the royal salute of "Bayete" on all official occasions and in his own home.

(20) Ba-Pule people. It is stated that, when the Ngoni first met these people, they carried long spears and shields made of game hides, and they could converse with the Ngoni in isi-swazi, which was not the language of the Ba-Pule; when they spoke their own language they were not understood by the Ngoni. The general opinion of the old indunas is that they were BaSuto people. They supplied excellent fighting material to the Ngoni impis and were treated as equals.

INTERESTING NOTE re DEATH OF LOBENGULA.

Lobengula, Chief of the Ama-Tebele. It is stated as follows.

Lobengula crossed the Zambesi at Manyerere Drift and arrived at the Mtenguleni Uka Sowera village on the Lutembwe River in January, 1894. He was carried by an Ngoni party who had been sent for that purpose. He was a very heavily built man with a large protruding belly, and breasts like those of a woman heavy in milk. So cumbersome was he, that he had to be helped to move about from one place to another. He had a great pipe in which he smoked hemp. If he passed the pipe he would talk, but if not it was a sign he wished to be alone. When Chief Mpezeni visited him he used to crawl on his hands and knees to greet him. The day Lobengula died the rock on the Sanjika Kopje split and fell and all the great Ngoni indunas mourned. Sanjika is on the road between Fort Jameson and Fort Manning. I have seen the split and fallen rock.

It is not known where Lobengula was buried; as he was a fugitive from justice, the secret was closely kept. It is said he died shortly after his arrival from the Zambesi in 1894. This information was given by an aged Ngoni councillor, named Ropu, who resided near Fort Jameson, and died in 1927. This story is but little known and nearly all knowledge is denied of this subject.

List of people who, being the oldest living Ngoni, attended a meeting held on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, 18th, 19th and 20th of January, 1935, at the Paramount Chief's village to discuss the history of Chief Zongendaba:—Bazaliyo Soko, Zamajaya Mphamza, Mahamuyo Mphamza, Mahawa Mwase Shawa, Dede Tole, Mjoko Edwambi Jere, Malwalakibe Tembo, Mwaje Nkhawa, Katanda Manyamy Mahowera, Kapendeke Jamesi Mvula, Machilika Mphamza, Chingambanze Ngulowa, Chiwere Maimbo, Maulen Jere, Mapalanga Mphamza, Chief Mpezeni Jere II, Chief Madalanzwe, Andrew Kapatamoyo Jere, James Ndovambi Hara, Matrino Kongwere Nkhowa, Penyani Mvula, Adriyano Phiri, Zebulubulo Gawani Mowere, Chingulukani Dimba, Siya Mvula, Ngwepa Singa Jere, Mahawa Mphamza, Mwaki Lukhelo, Njombwa Tembo, Adamilewoko Mahanga, etc.

[1] [isi-bongo = sib name -- Analyst]

[2] [isitaKazelo = honorific epithets -- Analyst]